●103 The place names are usually connected with either prominent landmarks of the natural environment, objects, events, experiences, or characteristics of the inhabitants. Thus, we have the following names.

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(a) From palm trees.

1. Niescham from a nĭ = lay, žăm = swamp, raffia palm, that is to say, the village is located where there are raffia palms, the most important plant for house construction.
2. Mabäscham from a bĕ = follow, žăm = swamp, raffia palm.
3. Makoda from akōda (plural, makōda) = swamp palm, Sclerosperma mannii, Mann et Wendl., used like raffia for house construction.
4. Nkan from nkăn(e) = Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc., climbing palm, used for plaiting.
5. Mekan, the same, plural.
6. Nsamenkan from žăm (nžăm) = swamp, swamp of the climbing palm Ancistrophyllum.
7. Alen from alĕn = oil palm.
8. Malen, the same, plural

(b) From cultivated plants.

9. Matumabai from atú (plural, matú) = taro, Colocasia antiquorum (L.) Schott, and mabai = two; thus, two taros. /52/
10. Bekaba from ekăba (plural, bekăba) = Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.
11. Emäangon from a mĕ ngŏn = scatter ngon /a squashlike ground fruit/, that is, for drying in the village square.

(c) From edible wild fruit or fruit trees.

12. Essun from esŭn = fruit of the cardamom, Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch.
13. Madschab from madžăb = oil from Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.
14. Fan from fắne = fruit of the Anacardiacea Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afắne).
15. Abe from abĕ = kola nut and tree, Cola acuminata (P. Beauv.).

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16. Andok from andŏ́k = Irvingia barteri Hook. f., Simarubaceae. Mandok.
17. Nkoandok from nkŏk = fallen tree trunk, that is, of the Irvingia.
18. Ngong from ngŏ́n IV = fruit of the Trichoscypha sp. (engŏ́n).
19. Alöb from alŏ́b = Desbordesia glaucescens Engl. (Simarubaceae).
20. Mangame from mangắme III = Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (Moraceae), perhaps also the symbol of agreement, taken from syncarp.

(d) Derived from other trees.

21. Akak from akắk = Leptonychia tessmannii Engl., Sterculiacea, the tree of peace, the peace linden.
22. Makak, the same, plural.
23. Nkomakak or Nkolemakak from nkō[l] = hill, that is, hill of Leptonychia trees (makak).
24. Abang (Abanga) from abắn = species of Ficus, particularly used in the manufacture of bark cloth.
25. Mabang (Mabanga), the same, plural.
26. Akam from akắm = several species of large Ficus, for instance, F. preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb., striking trees used for the manufacture of cloth.
27. Ajo, Jusch (Ajusch) from ayŭ́ = Triplochiton tessmannii, used especially for the manufacture of house coverings.
28. Majo (Majusch), the same, plural.
29. Nkolemajo = Nkolajo, from nko[l] = hill of Triplochiton.
30. Owŏng from ovŏ́n = Copaifera tessmannii Harms, famous spirit tree, largest tree of the Fang region.
31. Awŏngabai, two Copaifera (abai = two).
31a. Ndschiowŏng from ndzĕ́i = bridge, bridge of Copaifera.
32. Elun from elún = Erythrophloeum guineense Don. (Leguminosae), striking because of its red bark, a poisonous tree.
33. Belun, plural.
34. Ejen (Elibengang) from ején, elĭ́bengắn = Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill., striking because of its beautiful violet-red bark; a medicine tree.

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35. Andung from andu̱h = Croton welwitschianus Muell. Arg. (Euphorbiac.), beautiful by virtue of its shining silvery leaves.
36. Akom from akŏ̱m = Terminalia superba Engl. and Diels. /53/
37. Makom (Makomo), the same, plural.
38. Nkoakom from nkok = fallen tree trunk, that is, of the Terminalia.
39. Engo from engṓ, an unidentified tree.
40. Akoga from akŏ̱ga = Lophira alata Banks, with beautiful, fragrant blossoms.
41. Makoga, the same, plural.
42. Assam from asă̱m = Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., with a rich, fragrant cover of blossoms.
43. Massam (Massama), the same, plural.
44. Angok from angŏ̱k = Albizzia brownei Oliv., a beautiful tree.
45. Dum from dum = Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn.
46. Medschimitum from mdezī = roots, and tŭm = Piptadenia africana Hook. f.
47. Asseng or Assöng from asŏ̱ń = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br.
48. Massöng, the same, plural.
49. Nkoassöng from nkok = fallen trunk of the umbrella tree.

(e) From characteristics of the landscape.

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50. Ngbai from ngbă̱ī = leafless living tree (its winter condition).
51. Mekumu from nkū̱m I = standing dead tree trunk without a crown.
52. Ndangöng from ndăngŏ̱n = clearing.
53. Ewüöle from eyüŏ̱le = clearing.
54. Nko from nkŏ́ = hill.
55. Anko = at the hill.
56. Akok from akŏ̱k = stone, rock.
57. Makok, the same, plural.
58. Maschok from mažŏ̱k = rapids, falls.

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(f) Derived from animals or parts of animals.
59. Schok from žŏ́k = elephant.

103 825 60. Mbang, and 61, Mbangschok from mbă̱n = ivory, and zŏ̱k from elephant.

62. Mboleschok from ebō[l] = spoiled, that is, spoiled elephant.

63. Akuleschok from aku[l] = feet of animals, feet of the elephant.

64. Nnoschok = Nloschok from nlŏ́, nnŏ́ = head, head of the elephant.

65. Abumeschok from abŭ̱m = belly, belly of the elephant, because they had eaten up the village plantation.

66. Bindeme from indē̱m V = fruit bat.

67. Böngomo from ongō̱mo III = chimpanzee.

68. Akulangomo from akū[l] = feet, claws of the chimpanzee.

69. Ebóloua (1) from ebō[l] -o-wo̱ă̱ = spoiled matter of the chimpanzee, spoiled chimpanzee.

1. The official spelling is Ebolowa. For the sake of consistency I write Ebóloua, since by 'w' in German spelling I denote only labial sounds.

70. Akuasö from akū́a = animals' lair, zŏ́ = leopard.

71. Olamesö from olă̱m = trap or snare, zŏ = leopard.

72. Ewes from evĕ̱s = bone. /54/

73. Bojabúnkulu from boyā́ = little wives (plural), bo = of, (n)kū[l]u = turtles; thus, the little wives of turtles.

74. Bebass from ebă̱s = scale; the inhabitants of this place probably eat a lot of fish.

(g) From objects.

103 75. Ntum from ntŭ̱m = walking stick.

76. Ebai from ebai = strands taken from the stalk of a raffia leaf, used for house construction.

77. Bebai, the same, plural.

78. Ngam from ngă̱m = barbed hook on a spear.

79. Bebada from ebā́da = carrying baskets used by men.

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(h) Derived from experiences or characteristics of the inhabitants.

80. Bissis from isi̱s V = he who represents the shadow in the moon cult.
81. Elanga from elá'ń actually = the anus or, metaphorically, bad people.
82. Ekekŏ from a ke ekekŏ = stay away completely, because strangers were seized and killed and they did not come back.
83. Esamedulu from a zámádúlú = to carry on shamefully, that is, to have sexual relations with a woman of the same family.
84. Nssälang from nsę́n = village square, and elá'n (see under 81); the people committed immoral acts, acts of hostility, whenever a stranger passed through.
85. Bilnemajong from a bêne, bię̂ne = not to be afraid of someone, that is, to have no respect, and mayon = families; the people have no respect for the members of other families.
86. Ajaofun from a ńá or njá = to feed oneself, and fún = maize.
87. Akinebetom from a kíne = to converge (by running) upon one place, and etŏm = quarrel; the people come running to one place in order to start a quarrel.
88. Olunemang from olún = annoyance or anger, and mán = coast; the people had been annoyed about the inhabitants of the coast - perhaps Whites; or it was on account of the distance.
89. Ngba from ngbá' = quiet, peaceful people (in contrast to 82).
90. Massambe from a sá má tán = to fish with a net.
91. Nschugebot from nzuge = to talk all at the same time, and bot = people; there are many people who talk there.
92. Euuma from a wú'mán = to have a relapse in an illness.
93. Awomo from a yŏ'mǫ́ = to faint; this name, like the previous one, alludes to the entanglements of these frontier villages between Ntum and Bulu.
94. Nnoajong from nnŏ' = the head, and ayŏn = family; thus, the "chief representative" of the kin group.
95. Ajene from a yęn = to see, referring to the mountains that are visible from the village, "Montevideo."

103 96. Ntedenga from ntĕt = hundred, and ngā = rifle; a hundred, thus, an infinite number, of rifles. /55/

97. Makunanam or Makonanam from akŭn = post, pillar, and nnăm = the locality; that is, a locality which stands as firm as a post.

98. Ndschiabot from ndzĕi = bridge, and bōt = people; that is, a bridge for people.

99. Ejamang from a yăk = to stay the night, and a măn = on the way to the coast; thus, one of the few villages favorable to travel and progress.

100. Ajaamentangan from a yăk = to rest, and mentangan = Whites.

101. Akunekiă from akŭn = post, pillar, stake, and ekiĕi, of iron (compare 98).

102. Ebualebambe from a bŭele = to be broken in pieces, and mbămă III = large village; the houses were extremely dilapidated.

103. Niemajong from a nĭĕ = to put inside, and mayŏn = family unit; that is, the village had been established between villages of other kin groups.

104. Ndschobangon from dzŏb = sky, and ngŏn = moon; thus, moonlit sky.

105. Olŏadzob from olŏi = hole, and dzŏb = sky; a hole in the sky (probably between the clouds).
/Fig. 16 appears here in the original text./

Aside from place names, the Pangwe also have names for fields. For instance, in the environs of the settlement Alén (Essauong) there are the following: enumepfidi = powder path; nsa[k]-abea = abea swamp forest. There are only a few special names for mountains, for instance, Nemembŏng = good heart (see the map); usually the names of mountains and mountain ranges are borrowed from those of the neighboring settlements. According to the statements of the present inhabitants, the names of rivers for the most part can no longer be explained, because, as the inhabitants claim, these names were taken over from the former inhabitants of the region. The same would seem to apply in part also to the place names.

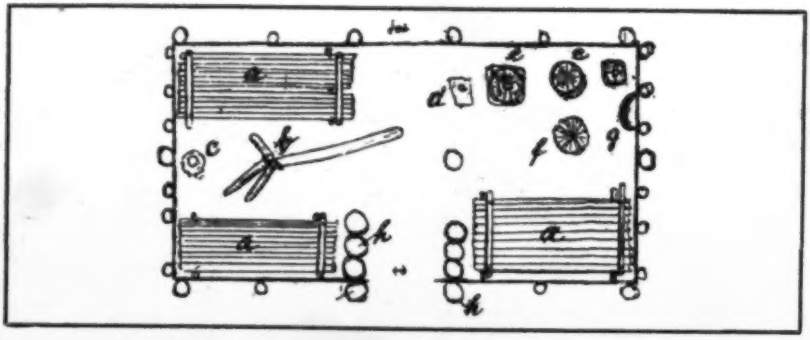

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Fig. 37. Ground Plan of a Pangwe Dwelling.
a, sleeping benches; b, fireplace (kitchen); c, pot with water; d, grindstone; e, baskets; f, bundle of maize cobs; g, hens' nest; h, door posts.

like the toys of a gigantic child that have just been finished by a giant toy dealer and are placed on the clean earth as though on a gigantic table. There are others in which one actually finds not a single house which does not let in the rain in torrents, not a single house whose walls are still standing straight and which does not provide entry for nocturnal reptiles between its walls and the ground. The reader should consider the significance of the name of the village of Ebualebambe ("tumble-down village") which, indeed, as I saw, did full justice to its name. 342 [103]

Whether the houses are carefully built or not, they always look depressed because they are too low in relation to their length, which seems even greater /73/ /Fig. 37 appears here in the original text/ than it actually is because of the way the houses are arranged in rows. One gets the same impression when one goes inside; on the average it is so low that one can stand in it only in a bent position for fear of coming into painful contact with the roof or the household utensils hanging from it. It is rare indeed that one can stand upright on one of the low sleeping benches without bumping his head.

As in the case of the meeting house, the interior of the dwelling (Fig. 37) has a single room which the Pangwe divides into atûm a nkiai and atûm akui, that is to say, into a western "room" (on a lower level) and an eastern "room" (on a higher level) which are to the left and right of the door. Figure 38 gives a view of the interior of a Fang hut. In this illustration one side wall and the right

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superhuman heroes, who include not only their ancestors but also the earliest well-known Europeans: Ngôtô Zambe (Rev. Good), Mendômô (Hauptmann von Hagen), Akôk (Marius Pascalet), etc., thus are found to be naturalized as it were and incorporated into tradition.

Driven out of this country by red giants (or by a red giant), the ancestors, fleeing to save their lives, were brought to a standstill at the Sanaga, incapable of crossing it until the intervention of the guardian of the waters, a python according to Beti and Boulou, a crocodile according to /16/ the Fang (1). By stretching himself across

1. Bertaut gives the names as mot yom and nga medja or ngan meja. Discounting a mistake in transcription, these expressions could mean "a being to be supplicated," "crocodile to be supplicated," from môt (Fang, môr, mur) = person; ngan = crocodile; ja'é (Boulou) dzak, dzaghé (Ewondo, Fang) = to ask, to supplicate; yom = to beg, to implore.

the river this animal formed a bridge which the ancestors crossed family by family, in order of primogeniture, until the moment when a child (or woman) wounded the animal's back by letting fall a weapon (or a torch). The animal dived below, abandoning on the right bank the Beti group that is still there today.

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Osoe Nnanga, whence Europeans have derived "Sanaga," means "white river" or "river of the albino." White is the color of death; ghosts (bekôn) are white; albinos are thought to be offspring of incubi. Lastly, the land of the dead has always been situated in the west, toward the sea (mañ), even though the Pahouin could not have known the sea except by hearsay. Considered in connection with some of the legends collected by Trilles, these facts may lead us to think that the Pahouin in crossing the Sanaga were entering, at least symbolically, the land of the dead.

When they had reached the left bank, they found their road blocked by an impenetrable forest, with the single path obstructed by an

such a case we gather that each principal town of a subdivision is a genuine center of attraction. Although new these towns are not artificial. There is another piece of evidence for this, the social-occupational distribution of the urban population is almost constant from one town to another, a proof that it corresponds to needs that are also constant.

Out of 100 inhabitants one generally finds: laborers 16.5, employees 12, traders 8.3, chauffeurs 6.9 (and "motor boys" 4.3), public service employees 6.7, domestic servants 5.8, carpenters 4.9, masons 4, farmers 3.5, tailors 3.2, mechanics 2.9, photographers 0.8, herders 0.5, catechists 0.1, without occupation 9, etc.

This in general outline is the present-day distribution. Let it simply be kept in mind that, with the diffusion of a new culture, the whole society becomes modified. The techniques and tools in use have been increased and diversified at the same time as social conditions.

Chapter 5

Social Organization

1. Forms of Settlement, Habitat

The basic social group is the patriarchal family (nda bot = lit., house of the people), to which corresponds the hamlet or elementary village, the jal (Boulou, pl. mal; Fang, Ewondo, dzal), generally called by the name of the patriarch (esa = father; nnôl = eldest, senior), but sometimes, when isolated, carrying a special toponym (éyôñ = proper name, designation; a person's name is rather ñôé; Fang, édzoé). These mal are usually arranged into multifamily, sometimes multiclan, villages, minlam (sing. nlam), the latter term designating both the group of dwellings and the soil appertaining to them. The nlam always has a place name of its own, which may refer to its geographical situation: nkôlayôp = on the hill; to a topographical or botanical peculiarity: ako'abete = dressed stone, ajap = the name of a tree, ma'an = crossroads; or to an incident connected with the founding: êbolewo'o (Ebolowa) = decayed chimpanzee, because the village was

103 set up at a spot where the body of a chimpanzee had been found; menjikôm = from me nji kômbo, I did not want to, the founding family not having wanted to go any further. /Or the nlam may take its place name/ from a nickname or whimsical name: mafi = sea, the site being considered "as beautiful as the sea"; kamelôn = Kamerun, "because a white man told us that the country would be called thus henceforward; évuzok = elephant's stomach, because of the appetite of its inhabitants, etc. It may also happen that a village name repeats that of its founder's native village, sometimes coupled with an indication like baa = second, mfefé = new, or with the name of its founder or chief, Méyo me Nkulu, the Méyo of Nkulu.

166 621 The leapfrog advance of small Pahouin groups at the time of the invasion has already been described. Each of these groups generally corresponded to a hamlet—jal—or to a village—nlam—or, rather, to the corresponding family units, nda bôt or mvôk. The migrating group retained rights to the abandoned site (bilik). Today the migration of whole villages is much less common. Rather, we are witnessing either a "swarming off" of villages that are overpopulated in relation to the amount of land available for plantations (in particular land near a vehicular road, especially in Cameroons), or a kind of explosion or social disintegration, /41/ the latter phenomenon being particularly noticeable among the Fang, where it has been well described by Balandier. Administrative action has often been a prime mover in the latest migrations: in Gabon, for instance, there has been an attempt to move whole villages for administrative, economic, or hygienic reasons, but in doing so collective groups have been broken up that had already been weakened by the disappearance of ancient defense needs and by the economic changes resulting from colonization. The new villages, often reconstituted without taking into account previous clan or family structures, no longer had any cohesion and split up into small rootless hamlets, poorly populated, continually moving their sites in disorderly fashion and usually seeking to escape contact with the administration. Since 1946, especially at the instance of the deputy, Aubame, himself a Fang, there has come into existence in Gabon a movement to regroup villages by clans, the results of which do not seem to have corresponded to the hopes of its promoters.

166 621 The situation is perceptibly different in the Cameroons, where the early introduction of the cultivation of cacao (before 1914 in Ewôndo